

EQUAL RIGHTS

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Washington, D. C.

Vol. 29, No. 2

FEBRUARY, 1943

Woman's Day In The Senate

January 21, 1943

BY MAY FRANK RHODS

FEB 18 1943

EIGHT men spoke on the floor of the Senate for the Lucretia Mott Amendment when it was re-introduced, January 21, 1943, by Senator Guy M. Gillette.

This is significant. Ten times since 1922 it has gone before Congress as dull routine without the emphasis of speeches. "In twenty years," says Alice Paul "never a voice was lifted in either house for the Equal Rights Amendment."

What this means is that the straws we saw blowing on Capitol Hill in the 77th Congress were forerunners of a trend. Our law-makers are coming to agree with Senator Joseph F. Guffey, who said in his co-sponsorship speech:

"Democracy, to be real, can no longer refuse equal legal rights to any citizen."

Knowing that Senator Gillette had planned for several speakers on the amendment just after its introduction, many women, long time supporters and new friends, went to hear the Woman's Day program.

Some were a little breathless from last minute endeavors.

For there is more to getting an amendment on its way than appears in the Congressional Record.

There is much spade work. Facts have to be gathered, marshalled convincingly, and used to educate a negligent public. And they must reach the men who will act on the measure.

Our Congressmen want these facts. I've found out that they and their secretaries have a startling appetite for information. They reach out for it from both pro's and anti's. I've heard gallery spectators complain because at times few senators and representatives are on the floor. Generally it is because they are listening wearying hours to one side or the other of the question before them, in their offices, or in committee rooms, where they are probing for the truth witnesses may know, and sifting facts from the testimony given.

Only so can they arrive at a decision. As one Senator said recently:

"I'll do anything I can to benefit women. But I must be sure that it will do so. And women must let me know what they want and need. I want to know what is on their minds."

Alice Paul knows this. And it is because she knows that we went into the gallery on Woman's Day

conscious of twenty-one co-sponsors with Senator Gillette—as compared with the five of last year.

We were just settling down to wait for the vice-president's gavel, when in scurried electric Anita Pollitzer, her black Cossack hat tilted triumphantly.

"Two more," she whispered, waving her fingers for us to count.

We counted and glowed.

Quick consternation crowded out my own satisfaction, though. Because back at Alva Belmont House and in the strategic Press Gallery were hundreds of copies of a press release all ready to go. This story shouted the news of our unprecedented number of twenty-one sponsors, with names, states, and party affiliations given. Something must be done.

And it was.

Which is why my eye-witness report on Woman's Day is ending before it got a fair start.

The Lucretia Mott Amendment was delayed by committee reports and much talk about them, by the introduction of bills and joint resolutions. And in the course of the afternoon two major speeches were delivered, one by Senator John Bankhead from Alabama on "The Utilization of Manpower;" the other by Senator James Mead of New York on "Attacks on Religion by Nazi Leaders."

Cecil Norton Broy, National Woman's Party political chairman, who had worked tirelessly with Alice Paul for this day said that she "was all on edge, hoping that it would all come off as planned."

She told me: "As I sat there in the gallery, I thought to myself, this is a big day. How important to the country is this thing that is going to happen on the floor of the Senate."

"Then I looked at the troubled faces of the Senators so concerned with the responsibilities of the war and with problems of government. And when Senator Bankhead brought up the matter of the size of the Army and how it was not going to be possible for us to produce food for ourselves and for other countries and at the same time have so many men in the Army, I thought to myself: 'Will our Woman's Day program even get a chance to come off? And I weighed this that I had given so many hours to, with the Army that is so important."

(Continued on Page 14)

Equal Rights



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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Art. 1—Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Art. 2—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Present Status

House Joint Resolution No. 1 Introduced Jan. 6, 1943, in House of Representatives by Representative Ludlow (Ind.) with forty-two co-sponsors.

Senate Joint Resolution No. 25 Introduced January 21, 1943, in Senate by Senator Guy M. Gillette (Iowa) with twenty-three co-sponsors.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

The National Council of the N. W. P. consists of the Officers, past Chairmen, the Chairman of each of the State and Territory branches and the D. C., the Chairmen of the Occupational Councils and twenty Members at Large.

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(Note: The nine Members of the Executive Council are elected by the National Council from its membership, immediately following the Biennial Convention. Occupational Councils at present are: Government Workers, Industrial, Library and House.)

Susan B. Anthony Anniversary

The memory of Susan B. Anthony, the "woman who changed the mind of a nation," will be honored in the halls of the Congress of the United States when, on February 15, the 123rd anniversary of the birth of this dauntless champion of the rights of women, will be celebrated. Half a dozen or more distinguished members of the House of Representatives will deliver eulogies.

The day is past when Susan B. Anthony can be classed with propagandists and special pleaders—she is now recognized as one of the history makers of the Republic. At the age of 33 she swore to change the

(Continued on Page 14)

Women And Economics

By MIRIAM E. OATMAN, Ph.D.

Dr. Miriam E. Oatman is a political scientist who has been connected with Brookings Institution and with the American University Graduate School. She is now with the State Law Index. For about twenty-five years Dr. Oatman has been doing research and writing in government, economics and public law. She is the joint author of many books in these fields, and is a frequent contributor to professional periodicals.

NEWSPAPERS and magazines are filled with stories of the influx of women into industry. The Office of War Information, in its official weekly bulletin, "Victory" of January 13, 1943, devotes an article to this subject. Among the kinds of work being done by women, according to this article, are the following: Testing all types of war material, such as tanks, machine guns, trucks and aircraft carriers; sorting ore; cleaning and greasing machinery; railway work, where women serve as engine oilers and wipers, turn table operators and the like; saw-mill operation; precision work on delicate instruments; and shipbuilding.

The following statements are made as to the percentage of women workers in various war industries: Electrical machinery, 36 per cent; electrical equipment, 27 per cent; scientific and technical instruments, 34 per cent; communications equipment, 48 per cent; small-arms ammunition, 35 per cent; other ammunition, 28 per cent; chemicals and allied industries, 23 per cent; rubber products, 33 per cent; firearms, 22 per cent; aircraft, 17 per cent.

There is a strong demand in the press generally, in official circles and from many private organizations, for having women paid an equal wage with men for doing the same work. There is also a very general agreement that women fill industrial positions acceptably.

This is all very encouraging.

But let us not suppose that the battle for equal economic opportunity between men and women has been won. Industrial work by women is seldom regarded by those who write the publicity stories—or, alas by some of their readers—as a normal and permanent development. Most of the articles state or imply that when the emergency is past, women will leave industry. Despite the fact that women can do industrial work well, and that all the nonsense formerly talked about their inability to perform the operations and the risks to their health if they should try to do so, is exploded by the facts, there is still a widespread feeling that only an emergency justifies women in doing work of this kind.

To those persons who believe, with the National Woman's Party, that every human being should do useful work, and that the choice of such work should be as free as possible the idea that women should be driven out of any field of labor is monstrous. Not everyone wishes to do industrial work; but if any woman enjoys oiling machinery, for example, more than she enjoys selling goods behind a counter, why should anyone try to prevent her from doing the work that she prefers? Society as well as the individual woman will be the gainer if her choice is free since everyone works best when the work is congenial.

But when the war is over and the soldiers return, should not women stop working and let the men take over the jobs? The foregoing question is asked over and over by persons who do not understand the elementary principles of economics. Such persons suppose that industry can offer a very limited number of jobs, which ought normally to be filled by fathers of families. This economic idea is no longer tenable, nor would anyone hold it who realized that new factories are built and new fields of enterprise are opened every day. Now it is understood that if everyone does useful work, there will be plenty of goods to exchange; and that the surest way to have plenty for everyone is to set everyone to work. Instead of a vicious circle, this is a beneficent one. It means that all human beings can be happy in doing useful work—one of the most certain sources of happiness—and comfortable in the enjoyment of the goods and services produced by such work. From this point of view, to exclude women from any field of labor is to injure them and injure society. It is our task to see to it that this backward step is never taken.

It is sound economy to encourage women to work. It is sound social psychology to encourage them to work. Let every woman and every man with faith in democracy resolve that the door of economic opportunity, now open fairly wide, shall never again be locked against women.

Speeches Made On Woman's Day In The Senate

Equal Rights for Men and Women—Constitutional Amendment

(From the *Congressional Record*, January 21, 1943, Pages 273-274, 288-290)

Mr. GILLETTE: "Mr. President, in just a moment I propose to send to the desk a joint resolution relative to what is popularly known as the equal rights amendment to the Constitution. The resolution is under joint sponsorship, and I am submitting it for introduction and reference to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"I understand that several members of the Senate wish to refer to the matter in addressing the Senate later, after the routine business has been concluded. I merely wish to say at this time that the amendment is the same as, or similar to, the proposal which has been before the Congress at various times, and was on the Senate Calendar at the time when the Seventy-seventh Congress went out of existence. It is a proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States by the following amendment to be submitted to the States for ratification of three-fourths of the legislatures:

ARTICLE

"Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

"Mr. President, I merely wish to say that this seems to me to be a particularly appropriate time for expecting and anticipating prompt favorable action on this matter. We are witnessing the mobilization of women in all enterprises, military and civilian, in the ranks, at the lathes, at the drills, at the assembly lines; and this final step in the upward course of women from the status of chattels to the dignity of human beings is one which should very appropriately be taken, in the opinion of the speaker.

"So, Mr. President, on behalf of the following Members of the Senate, the senior Senator from Wyoming (MR. O'MAHONEY), the senior Senator from New Jersey (MR. BARBOUR), the Senator from Kansas (MR. CAPPER), the Senator from Arkansas (MRS. CARAWAY), the Senator from New Mexico (MR. CHAVEZ), the Senator from Missouri (MR. CLARK), the Senator from Pennsylvania (MR. GUFFEY), the junior Senator from New Jersey (MR. HAWKES), the Senator from Oregon (MR. HOLMAN), the Senator from West Virginia (MR. KILGORE), the Senator from Illinois (MR. LUCAS), the senior Senator from Tennessee, (MR. McKELLAR), the Senator from North Dakota (MR. NYE), the Senator from Florida (MR. PEPPER), the junior Senator from Maryland (MR. RADCLIFFE), the Senator from North Carolina (MR. REYNOLDS), the junior Senator from Wyoming (MR. ROBERTSON), the junior Senator from Tennessee (MR. STEWART), the Senator from Oklahoma (MR. THOMAS), the Senator from Idaho (MR. THOMAS), the Senator from Delaware, (MR. TUNNELL), the senior Senator from Maryland (MR. TYDINGS), the Senator from Montana (MR. WHEELER), and myself, I introduce the measure and ask to have it appropriately referred."

The VICE-PRESIDENT: "The joint resolution will be properly referred."

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 25) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting equal rights to men and women was read twice by its titles and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. REYNOLDS: "Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *Record*, following the remarks of the Senator from Iowa (MR. GILLETTE), a telegram I have received from Cecil Norton Broy—Mrs. Charles Broy—political chairman, National Woman's Party, of Washington, D. C."

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

January 11, 1943

"SENATOR ROBERT RICE REYNOLDS,
Chairman, Military Affairs Committee,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

"As Chairman of our Military Affairs Committee of the Senate I know, of course, how very, very busy you are. However, it is necessary for me to communicate with you at this time on a matter that is considered by many of our best citizens to be of great importance to our country. On Thursday, January 21, there will be a Woman's Day in the Senate. Senator Gillette will reintroduce the equal rights resolution; many Senators will be co-sponsors with him.

"Senator Gillette and the National Woman's Party are asking you to be a co-sponsor for the resolution when it comes up on Friday. We have arranged a program of 5 set speeches by Senators for Thursday. Other Senators have stated that they will make impromptu remarks in favor of the resolution on January 21.

"Women have the vote, but there are still 1,000 discriminations against the women of our country in the various States. I am hoping that you will feel like saying something on this important subject on Friday so that your word may go out to the people of this great land along with the words of these other fine gentlemen of the Senate. The press has promised its cooperation, and, of course, the 30,000 *Congressional Record* copies reach the people of our land daily. News of this Woman's Day in the Senate will strengthen those loyal women who are now carrying heavy burdens on the farm and in the factories, as well as in the home.

"As you will remember, in some States of the Union women do not have equal control of property, nor equal control of their earnings, nor equal rights to make contracts, nor equal opportunities in the profession and industry nor in government service, nor equal pay for equal work, nor equal control of National, State, or local government. Any fair-minded, just man knows in his heart that God created 2 sexes both equal in his sight and that women should, therefore, have equality of rights before the law in our great Republic. Surely no man will say that the mothers of men are inferior to the men themselves. If the principle of equality between men and women is right—and it is—then no one need fear the consequences of establishing it in the law of the land.

"Yours for the women of America,
CECIL NORTON BROY,
(Mrs. Charles Broy),

Political Chairman, National Woman's Party,
Washington, D. C.

Equal Rights For Men And Women— Constitutional Amendment

Mr. BARBOUR: "Mr. President, I am anxious to make a brief statement endorsing the so-called equal rights amendment, proposed this morning in a joint resolution submitted by the distinguished Senator from Iowa (MR. GILLETTE).

"Mr. President, it is fitting that we Members of Congress recognize the splendid example of patriotism, leadership, and service being set by our American women in this present great struggle to preserve our democratic principles of liberty, freedom, equality, and justice for all—principles that have been handed down

to us by the sweat and blood of our forefathers—so that they may enjoy the inalienable right of equal rights with men.

"Twenty years have passed since the equal rights amendment was first introduced in the House of Representatives by the Honorable Daniel R. Anthony, nephew of that great emancipator of women, Susan B. Anthony. Many hearings have been held since, and I believe I am correct in stating that the last one was in February, 1938. The causes of the defeat of the resolution at that time were apprehension and fear that the amendment would remove from the statute books in many of the States protective legislation for women in industry that had been passed after many years of strenuous effort.

"The responsibilities placed upon women today make it imperative, however, that we take cognizance of their rightful place in our scheme of life. Whatever may have sufficed for the past, today both men and women have equally qualified to work cooperatively, and their joint earnings are needed more and more to lessen the strain of the economic burden imposed by our present social situation. There should be equal opportunity for obtaining knowledge, equality of opportunity for work and service, and equality of remuneration for service rendered. I know that in many of the States of the Union legislation has been placed upon the statute books which makes this possible.

"In other States, however, our legislators have not as yet adopted this progressive viewpoint.

"Those who have been and are now working for the economic as well as social improvement of women should realize that the whole industrial scene has changed rapidly in the past few years. Today, more and more women are entering all fields of useful work, and are thus making a most valuable and necessary contribution to our manpower problem, which is so acute in this emergency.

"Therefore, a new approach is justified by rapidly changing social conditions, but the demands today should be as always for decent working conditions and adequate remuneration applying to industry in general and not for one sex alone. As far as I can see and understand the context of this amendment, there is no conflict between the amendment which prescribes equal rights to all and a demand for better conditions in industry for both men and women. If for one moment I thought that this amendment would in any way destroy the advanced social and economic legislation that has been adopted in many States of our Union for the protection of our women, I would most vigorously oppose its passage. But, as I have said, I do not believe that if this amendment becomes law it will in any way affect such legislation.

"The great contribution of our women today—especially in our defense plants and in our armed forces in these hours of baptism by fire—necessitates our giving to the women of this country truly equal opportunities. It will not only be a source of great satisfaction at a job well done, but it will serve as a beacon light of justice to all women—in all parts of the world."

Mr. CAPPER: Mr. President, 20 years ago a distinguished Kansan, Hon. Charles Curtis, then representing his State in the Senate and destined to be Vice-President of the United States, introduced the equal rights amendment, which today was offered by the Senator from Iowa (MR. GILLETTE) and others. When Senator Curtis introduced his concurrent resolution in 1923 he summed up the argument in these words:

"The introduction in Congress of the equal rights amendment to the Constitution of the United States marks an-

other milestone on the road to human equality. When that amendment becomes an integral part of the fundamental law of the land, the consummation of the demands made by the Seneca Falls Conference of 1848 will have been reached, so far as law can effect this end and so far as the United States is concerned . . . The suffrage amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1878 and was finally adopted in 1920. Forty-two years were spent by women in working to induce Congress to establish the principle that there should be no discrimination against women in the suffrage. Had the Congress of 1878 passed the amendment when it was first proposed 42 years of effort on the part of American women would have been saved. The time, the labor, the money, which women gave to winning the vote could have gone into other fields where time, labor, and money were sorely needed. Let not the same delay occur with the equal rights amendment."

"Mr. President, let us heed the warning of the late Vice-President Curtis. Forty-two years were spent by women in securing for themselves what should be the birthright of every American citizen, the vote. Twenty years have been spent by American women in attempting to secure the corollary to that suffrage amendment, the equal rights amendment, which will give women an equal legal status with men.

"Let us without delay state clearly in the Constitution of our land that men and women stand on an equal footing before the law, with justice to each and favors to none."

Mr. CHAVEZ: "Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa (MR. GILLETTE) today proposed the so-called equal rights amendment to the Constitution, and I wish to take a very brief moment of the Senate's time to make some remarks on that subject matter.

"The proposed equal rights amendment represents one more step which we must take in establishing justice for all American citizens. Its great significance lies in the fact that it touches intimately the life of every American woman, and indeed of every American man.

"Beginning in 1848, with the convention on women's rights called at Seneca Falls, N. Y., by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, women became conscious of the gross inequalities of the law which affected them in every field. Their property rights, their political rights, the right to work and to enjoy the fruits of their labors; the right to be joint guardians of their children, and to contract were all denied them in 1848. In no respect did a woman enjoy the same rights enjoyed by men in 1848.

"Realizing that the vote was an instrument by which other discriminations could be righted, women first bent their efforts toward securing an amendment to the Constitution which would give them the suffrage. In 1920, by the nineteenth amendment, they gained the right to vote—but none other.

"Meanwhile, various States have corrected some of the most flagrant abuses. Property rights were conceded slowly, but still imperfectly. Joint guardianship rights were allowed in some States. The right to contract, to sue and be sued, was also granted in some States, although lawyers today still refer to the 'danger of a married woman's papers.' But still, there is today no State in the Union where the law applies equally to men and women. Wherever the common law, unmodified by statute, exists, there injustice to women exists.

"The equal rights amendment would end this injustice for the whole country. I am happy to be a co-sponsor with the Senator from Iowa (MR. GILLETTE) in the proposal of this amendment."

Mr. GUFFEY: "Mr. President, earlier today the senior Senator from Iowa (MR. GILLETTE) introduced

a measure providing for a constitutional amendment. I am one of the Senators who joined with him in introducing that measure. The amendment is commonly referred to as the equal rights amendment. In this connection I wish to say that no citizen of the United States has any just grounds for denying equal justice before the law to the women of this country. Democracy, to be real, can no longer refuse equal legal rights to any citizen.

"All my life I have opposed special privilege and therefore gladly support this amendment, which will do away with special legal privileges for men in the various States and thus grant all citizens—men and women alike—equal legal rights throughout the country."

Mr. NYE: "Mr. President, I am happy to be one of those who have been contributing to the advance of the so-called equal rights cause."

"It is hardly my purpose to ignore the representation which comes in opposition to the equal rights amendment. I can quite understand and appreciate the sound ground upon which some of this opposition is based, and I expect to witness compromises in legislative consideration which will greatly forward the course of equality."

"Mr. President, I feel strongly that equality of rights before the law should not be denied the women of our country. Thousands of discriminations are practiced against women, and it is our task as legislators to eliminate those discriminations."

"Very often so-called protective legislation proves to be an obstacle to women. Hours of employment of women are often discriminatory and stand as a preventive against equal pay for equal service. More and more are women coming into active participation in our economy, taking the places of men in essential fields of operation. A greater equality of rights ought to prevail. I hope Congress will afford the proposed amendment larger discussion and opportunity for consideration than it has heretofore had."

Mr. ANDREWS: "Mr. President, I have noticed that a number of short speeches have been made on the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment designated as the equal rights amendment. The term 'equal rights' is a very enticing one, but I wonder if those who have made speeches in favor of the amendment have gone to the trouble to discover what the adoption of such an amendment would mean to the constitutions and the laws of their States."

"When the Constitution of the United States was formed, the whole field of domestic relations was reserved to the States. That field includes domestic relations and personal rights. That field was clearly reserved to the States. If this amendment is ratified it is quite certain that married women and widows may lose many more rights than they will gain. Insofar as the constitution and statutes of my own State on that subject are concerned—and I am sure this applies to the constitutions and statutes of other States—I am sure the adoption of such an indefinite provision as the one now proposed would result in disrupting many State statutes developed over the past two centuries for the protection of women."

"For example, in the constitution of my State we have a provision which may have been inserted in it as the result of the treaty made with Spain when the United States bought Florida from Spain. Florida's constitution provides—

That all property, real and personal, owned by a wife before her marriage, or lawfully acquired afterward by gift, devise, bequest, descent, or purchase, shall be her separate property.

"Of course, Senators know that when a man marries, all that he has when he marries and all he thereafter requires by gift, devise, or otherwise belongs to both husband and wife."

"I realize that the term 'equal rights' is very catchy and a pleasing slogan, but I think we had better look into the subject very carefully, because I fear the adoption of the amendment would result in unending litigation in the various States. Divorce laws, for example, might be thrown out of kilter. I was on the bench a number of years, and handled many hundreds of divorce cases, many involving the question of payment of alimony. Under this amendment a man might rightfully claim alimony from his wife. The whole question is so involved that we had better look carefully into it before we taken action."

"Mr. President, I feel that before submitting this proposal to the States for ratification we should first be sure we understand what its far-reaching effects might be. I shall undertake to prepare a statement on the subject and I hope it will be of some service to us in arriving at a solution of the question."

"That is all I have to say about the matter at present."

Mr. PEPPER: "Mr. President, I regret very much that the very few remarks I shall make should appear so proximate to contrary sentiments expressed by my distinguished colleague, for whom I have not only the greatest affection and deepest friendship, but to whose opinion I always very much defer. However, I cannot escape the conclusion that those of use who have advocated by our signatures the equal rights amendment, which is now upon the desk and properly referred, as well as those who are favorably inclined toward it, advocate an ideal too long delayed, the complete emancipation of women."

"The whole question of the evolution of human rights is a matter of interesting historical trend. There was a time when men were not regarded as entitled to many privileges or prerogatives, and protected by few immunities, if they happened to be men of poverty or without estate. I have read that at the time of the French Revolution in France it was permissible for one of the grand gentlemen of France, a member of the nobility, on a cold morning's hunt to have the privilege of warming his feet in the bowels of not to exceed two peasants."

"We all know what great progress was made in the protection of human rights when the Magna Carta was promulgated."

"There was a long time in this country when able, earnest, and honest men and women opposed the extension of the suffrage to women because they really thought that association with politics would contaminate women and to subject women to such taint was unworthy of men."

"I remember very distinctly a clever gentleman who was later in the Senate, making a remark in my high school when I was a high school student, when he spoke against woman's suffrage, to the effect that John was a suffragist and Mary was a suffragette, and they were both suffering it. Those were just a few of the sentiments of ridicule and scorn which were hurled at those who advocated what we all now take as a matter of fact and right, and the right of women to vote."

"I feel, therefore, that the trend toward women enjoying equal rights has progressed until today they are entitled to enjoy all rights equally with all human beings, and that sex is not a sufficient line of demarcation for different rights. There may be instances where there would be a difference in duties, but that will depend upon the ability of the person or persons affected to perform the obligation required, not to their rights equally to share and to enjoy the benefits which are derived from citizenship and equality due to all."

"When the Declaration of Independence was written, and those moving words that 'all men are created equal' were incorporated therein, to lift the hopes and the hearts of the oppressed everywhere in the world, I do not believe that Thomas Jefferson was thinking only of mankind which happened to be masculine in sex. I think he spoke about human beings, and therefore that it is in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence to say that women are born equal with men in the rights of citizenship and civil prerogatives."

"I hope, therefore, that this may be the last hurdle which it will be necessary to surmount; that the race to bring equality, complete freedom, independence, and liberty for women shall at last be won."

Woman's Day In The Senate

(Continued from First Page)

"Many things went through my head as I listened. Then I thought: 'But what is more important in this country than justice to her women?' And I knew there would be many more days for things connected with the war, while this Woman's Day in the Senate was so important to us. And I felt that our friends in the Senate would see to it that their program would come off."

And they did.

"I admired the great persistence of these men," said Mrs. Broy. "They had to wait through long speeches for their opportunity. I am full of gratitude to these busy and outstanding Senators who had made up their minds to speak for our cause, were determined to do so and finally did it."

At last Senator Gillette had his opportunity and the amendment was introduced as Senate Joint Resolution No. 25 and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

There was conviction in his presentation, commented Caroline Babcock, our executive secretary, who said: "I had a strong impression of victory from his manner. As Senator Gillette read the amendment it was as if he were saying, 'Here it is—we'll go right after it.' And he read those names of the co-sponsors as though he was going to call the roll of the whole Senate."

Which brings to mind this Iowa Senator's December prophecy:

"The final success of this movement, is, I am convinced close at hand. There will soon be justice for women before the law throughout the United States."

Following the Iowan, Senator Robert Reynolds asked for unanimous consent to have a 500 word telegram sent to him by Mrs. Broy printed in the Congressional Record. "Without objection it was so ordered," so there on page 274 is her argument for the amendment, working for us in 30,000 copies of the Record. (See page 11).

After this, the wait was again long. Many of the spectators went about other affairs. But not our staunch Dora G. Ogle, business manager of *"Equal Rights."*

"She never once budged," was said of her later.

Mrs. Ogle was greatly pleased with Senator Warren Barbour's supporting speech, for after a brief history of the amendment he gave concise reasons for his co-sponsorship. One of these is: "The responsibilities placed upon women today make it imperative that we take cognizance of their rightful place in our scheme of life."

Mrs. Ogle was impressed with the strength of Senator Guffey's challenge: "No citizen of the United States has any just grounds for denying equal justice before the law to the women of this country." And she was glad that Senator Dennis Chavez let his voice "ring out clear and loud" as he said:

"There is today no State in the Union where the law applies equally to men and women."

Mrs. Ogle said of Senator Arthur Capper: "Of course we were pleased to have him stand by us as he always has. As the dean of the movement in the Senate it was especially fitting for him to plead:

"Let us without delay state clearly in the Constitution of our land that men and women stand on an

equal footing before the law, with justice to each and favors to none."

Noting that Senator Gerald Nye brought out the fact that the "so-called protective legislation proves to be an obstacle to women," she remarked: "We need someone like Senator Nye to bring this truth home. When he goes after anything he really goes to town—or—er—I mean he really accomplishes his purpose," she finished with dignity as she saw my pencil putting down a quote.

Senator Claude Pepper made one of the finest speeches, thought Dora Ogle. "He spoke from the heart—without notes. We hadn't expected him to talk. He rose to express himself because his Florida colleague, Senator Charles Andrews unexpectedly opposed the amendment. Senator Pepper rose in defense, and he certainly put a punch in it," admired Mrs. Ogle.

She gloated over the solid senatorial support in four states both senators being co-sponsors in New Jersey, Wyoming, Maryland and Tennessee; and she regretted that Senator Andrews kept his state from being a bloc—all of the Florida representatives were co-sponsors of Representative Louis Ludlow when he reintroduced the amendment in the House, January 6.

This ends my account of Woman's Day in the Senate save for a postscript that I, as a citizen of Florida, am adding to the speech of Senator Andrews. The following quotations are taken from the "Report for Florida" from a study made under the direction of Mary Anderson, of the Women's Bureau—a study which carries the head, "The Legal Status of Women in the United States of America."

From SECTION 5: Unless a married woman has been made a *free dealer* under the statutes so providing she has in general no capacity to contract. The common-law rule that a married woman is not competent to enter into a contract so as to give a personal remedy against her has been left undisturbed and in full force.

From SECTION 9: A wife's separate estate includes all property, real and personal, owned by her before marriage or lawfully acquired afterward by gift, devise, bequest, descent, or purchase . . . the statute provides that the husband shall have the care and management of it, that he shall make no charge for his services in this connection, and that the wife is not entitled to sue her husband for rents, proceeds, or profits.

From SECTION 10: The husband owns and controls property acquired after marriage by the cooperative efforts of both spouses, by rule of common law which governs.

Susan B. Anthony Anniversary

(Continued from Page 10)

mind of the ruling class of men as to the barbarous position of women under the English Common Law and all medieval conceptions of their place in society. She lived to see her vow partially fulfilled.

For more than half a century Susan B. Anthony pioneered to secure equal rights for women in the political, civic and economic fields. She paid every price that its success demanded. No mob of howling dervishes crying, "shame on the woman," intimidated her in her heroic stand.

Today Susan B. Anthony, the most persecuted of women in her earlier days, is recognized as the spiritual mother of all enfranchised women in the world. This month she will have the distinction of being honored on the floor by members of the world's greatest deliberative body, the Congress of the United States.

Judiciary Committees In 78th Congress

By CAROLINE LEXOW BABCOCK

As the Equal Rights Amendment, (Senate Joint Resolution 25 and House Joint Resolution 1), has been referred to the Judiciary Committee of each House, the appointment of these Committees is a matter of importance to advocates of the Amendment.

The Chairmen remain the same, Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana and Representative Hatton W. Summers of Texas.

In the Senate Judiciary Committee, in addition to the Chairman, eight Democrats remain. They are Senators McCarran, Nevada; Hatch, New Mexico; Connally, Texas; O'Mahoney, Wyoming, (a co-sponsor in the introduction of the Amendment in the Senate); Chandler, Kentucky; Kilgore, West Virginia, (also a co-sponsor); Murdock, Utah; and McFarland, Arizona. Four of the Republicans will continue to serve. They are Senators Austin, Vermont; Danaher, Connecticut; Wiley, Wisconsin; and Langer, North Dakota. Two new Democrats and three new Republicans have been appointed to this Committee.

In the House, in addition to the Chairman, ten Democratic members of the last Congress hold over. They are Representatives Celler, New York; Weaver, North Carolina, (a co-sponsor); Satterfield, Virginia; Kefauver, Tennessee; Bryson, South Carolina, (a co-sponsor); and Cravens, Arkansas. Nine of the former Republican members remain. They are Representatives Guyer, Kansas, (a co-sponsor); Hancock, New York; Michener, Michigan; Robison, Kentucky; Reed, Illinois; Gwynne, Iowa; Graham, Pennsylvania; Springer, Indiana; and Talbot, Kentucky. Three new Democrats and three new Republicans have been appointed to this Committee.

The Judiciary Committees now stand as follows:

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

FREDERICK VAN NUYS, Chairman Ind.	WARREN R. AUSTIN Vt.
PAT MCCARRAN Nev.	JOHN A. DANAHY Conn.
CARL A. HATCH N. M.	ALEXANDER WILEY Wisc.
TOM CONNALLY Tex.	WILLIAM LANGER N. D.
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY Wyo.	HOMER FERGUSON Mich.
ALBERT B. CHANDLER Ky.	CHAPMAN REVERCOMB W. Va.
HARLEY M. KILGORE W. Va.	KENNETH S. WHERRY Nebr.
ABE MURDOCK Utah	
ERNEST W. MCFARLAND Ariz.	
BURTON K. WHEELER Mont.	
CHARLES O. ANDREWS Fla.	

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

HATTON W. SUMMERS, Chairman Tex.	U. S. GUYER Kans.
EMANUEL CELLER N. Y.	CLARENCE E. HANCOCK N. Y.
ZERULON WEAVER N. C.	EARL C. MICHENER Mich.
FRANCIS E. WALTER Pa.	JOHN M. ROBISON Ky.
SAM HOBBS Ala.	CHAUNCEY W. REED Ill.
JOHN H. TOLAN Calif.	JOHN W. GWYNNE Iowa
WILLIAM T. BYRNE N. Y.	LOUIS E. GRAHAM Pa.
DAVE E. SATTERFIELD, JR. Va.	RAYMOND S. SPRINGER Ind.
ESTES KEFAUVER Tenn.	JOSEPH E. TALBOT Conn.
JOSEPH R. BRYSON S. C.	FRANK FELLOWS Maine
FADJO CRAVENS Ark.	EARL R. LEWIS Ohio
SAM M. RUSSELL Tex.	HARRY L. TOWE N. J.
THOMAS J. LANE Mass.	
MORTON GORSKI Ill.	

Senator Frederick Van Nuys, Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, has announced the appointment of the Sub-Judiciary Committee in charge of the Equal Rights Amendment as follows: Senator Harley M. Kilgore (D.), West Virginia, Chairman, (one of the co-sponsors for the introduction of the amendment in the Senate); Senator Ernest W. McFarland (D.), Arizona, and Senator Warren R. Austin (R.), Vermont.

It will be recalled that in the last Congress both Judiciary Sub-Committees reported the Equal Rights Amendment favorably to the full Judiciary Committees. In the Senate the full Judiciary Committee reported the Equal Rights Amendment to the Senate favorably by a vote of nine to two. In the House the full Judiciary Committee voted on the Equal Rights Amendment favorably nine to seven, but the decision of this Committee was never reported to the House.

The absence of ex-Senator James H. Hughes of Delaware is a severe loss. As Chairman of the Senate Sub-Judiciary Committee, his work for the Amendment was crowned with success. His leadership in the Committee made many friends for the Amendment, some of whom are still members of the Committee and ready to help in the same fine spirit which Senator Hughes never failed to bring to his work for this measure.

Carrie Harrison

IN MEMORIAM

On January 18, 1943, there passed quietly away, in her sleep, Carrie Harrison, at the ripe age of 91. She died, as she had lived, alone, in her apartment in a dwelling which she owned in Brookland, D. C. To the last, although somewhat shut in, she retained an active interest in life flowing round about her, prepared her own meals, and found interest in the grist of each day's mill. Born in Fayette County, Iowa, near West Union, she was a daughter of Crit and Louise Harrison. Her early education was in a local academy, thence to Upper Iowa University, and Valparaiso Normal School; later to Wellesley College and Cornell University. She held degrees of B.E., B.S., and M.A. She taught country school at the age of 16; at 17-18 managed a farm; later she became interested in botany, and with a book, dog and horse, made several prize collections of Iowa plants. She was a charter member of the National Geographic Society; and did the first curator work in the National Herbarium in Washington, organizing a half million specimens, being, in fact, the first woman to be given a scientific civil service examination after the Civil Service was established. She visited at her own expense, for the benefit of the United States Government, the largest herbaria of Europe, including those of Germany, France and England, and secured from Germany for the Government the most complete collection of Porto Rican plants then obtainable.

Probably her most distinguished contribution in a long and useful life, was in being instrumental, together with Mrs. L. R. Crandall, in persuading the Chinese Minister in Washington to get a cablegram through to the beleaguered American Legation in Peking, at the time of the Boxer rebellion, with offer of a ransom, which she pledged she would raise, after our Secretary of State (Hay) felt it was hopeless to try to do anything. Thus she probably was the means of saving the lives of all the members of the foreign embassies in China at the time. A letter in her files from Minister Wu Ting Fang acknowledges her services in this respect, stating that he acted that very day on her suggestion by cablegram.

Miss Harrison was a member of the National Woman's Press Association in the early days under the leadership of Bessie Beach Lincoln; the Brookland Rose Society, the Washington Wellesley Club, a member and founder of the National Woman's Party, and an uncompromising champion of woman's suffrage.

In fact, this outstanding woman was uncompromising in many respects. Tall, rugged, forthright, with a fine Norwegian type of head and very beautiful hands, she retained a sense of formality in human relationships somewhat unusual for a mid-western pioneer. She invariably greeted one on the telephone with "This is Carrie Harrison," or on occasional lighter moments with "This is Old Harry," and always closed with "Goodbye and Good Luck." In her garden, grown by herself from seed, stood a row of Cryptomeria trees, which she called her "good luck" trees, and always, when she had friends to dinner, a sprig of this lovely green would be found at each plate. Each guest was asked to take it home and preserve it carefully, for it would bring good luck.

Her interests and activities were so varied that it would be impossible to recount them all in this article. She visited Europe a second time in 1907. This trip was as fruitful as her first; she brought back seeds of the sweet pepper from Spain, and to her we owe the fact that they are now commonplace on every American table; she learned also the secret of canning same, with which she experimented in her own kitchen, until she was able to report correctly the process to her department chief; she saw and liked the bread in Seville, learned it was made of hard durum wheat, how it was baked, and reported on that; she saw melons ingeniously carried in twin baskets, so as not to rub against one another, and remembering the difficulty the Department of Agriculture was having with the shipment of Manchurian melons from the west, reported on that; the method she devised as a result of her observations for shipping them are still being used today. In her early twenties, in memory of Clara Barton, whom she had known and loved, she gave to the National Woman's Party, while their headquarters were still at 21-25 First Street, a Rose Garden, dedicated to Clara Barton's memory. When the Woman's Party moved their quarters over to the present home, these roses were taken along and transplanted. She had an extensive library, and gave it in part to the National Woman's Party, and the bulk to Upper Iowa University.

Another contribution to horticulture was her work in classifying plant material during her vacation on the Vanderbilt estate at Biltmore for the Economic Herbarium.

As to woman's suffrage, she knew Susan B. Anthony, and when still in pigtailed, won a suffrage debate in her home town. Her interest in equality for women, socially, economically and politically, continued down to the day of her death.

Goodbye, Carrie Harrison; may you rest in peace, content with good things well done; goodbye and good luck.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

The Equal Rights Amendment

THE *Boston Herald* of January 31 carried an editorial on the Equal Rights Amendment—an editorial which, it seemed to me, tried to do two things, acknowledge the worth of the Amendment and at the same time play ball with its opponents.

It started out by admitting that the Amendment probably had a better chance of adoption in the present Congress than at any time since it was first brought forward 20 years ago, and added, "The title is an appealing slogan. The resolution carries weight as a simple statement of a fundamental principle." This is more praise than we have ever had from the *Herald* and shows how much progress we are making.

The *Herald*, however, still has its doubts about the Amendment. It admits that in some States "women are subjected by law to unjust disabilities regarding property, marriage, divorce, earnings, and contracts." But it explains, "Many of these are contained in friendly legislation, designed solely for the protection of women." This interpretation of course is in the manner of Blackstone, who characterized even the flagrant legal disabilities of woman as her protection, saying, "So great a favourite is the female of the laws of England."

The *Herald* is concerned over the effect of a blanket amendment which would wipe out all protective legislation for women. This bugaboo quickly melts away when analyzed. It is sophistry to argue that protective legislation for women raises them to the level of equality with men.

First of all, what is the best protection that any citizen can have, man or woman? Equal protection of the law, equal justice under the Constitution. The Constitution, written and interpreted in the light of common law, does not give women that protection. The Supreme Court has repeatedly made it plain that women can expect nothing from the 14th Amendment. Women were granted the right to vote in 1920 by Constitutional amendment. The various States have conferred other rights upon women, but under the Federal Constitution women are not complete citizens. The Equal Rights Amendment will extend to them full citizenship and equal protection of the law. It is their Bill of Rights, long over-due.

The fear that the Equal Rights Amendment will harm women by sweeping away protective labor legislation has been played up all out of proportion. The trend of the times is protective labor legislation based on the job and not the sex of the worker, and the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act is the pattern. Labor legislation for women only is selfish and out of tune with the times.

The *Herald* is influenced by those who prophecy that confusion and litigation will follow the enactment of the Amendment. The same hue and cry greeted the Woman Suffrage Amendment and proved a false alarm. There is every reason to expect State Legislatures to bring their laws into harmony with the Equal Rights Amendment in the right spirit and with intelligence.

The *Herald* also calls attention to the fact that most of the sponsors of the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate and the House are from the West and South, and interprets this to mean that the need for the Amendment "is not felt in the more advanced States."

Florence Bayard Hilles Library

MARY ELIZABETH DOWNEY, Librarian

In our campaign to interest those whom we know, by sending material to them, it is encouraging when the response of personal interest comes back saying that the material has been passed on to others, and asking for more, with the suggestion that it is wanted for club programs and study.

One of the greatest educational influences in the United States in the last seventy-five years has been the Woman's Club Movement. Women's Clubs have been referred to and written about as "The Third House," and rightly so, for they do serve as a great influence in promoting public and government policy far more than is realized generally.

Everyone who can influence club study of the "Evolution of women" or "The woman question" may have a great part in distributing the leaven which finally will bring about equality between women and men.

This leaven needs to work as a means of education through the United States in order that people may be prepared to favor the Lucretia Mott Amendment in the various states when the time for ratification arrives.

Therefore we would be pleased to assist any group taking up such study with suggestions for programs or lists of books, when desired. Some of those interested may like to refer to the article "Books on the Woman Movement in Equal Rights," April, 1941, which annotates a short list.

A further service women interested in such study, both for themselves and others, can render is to ask for books related to the subject in their local libraries and if not found, suggest that they be ordered.

CALENDAR AND PROGRAM. MARCH.

Pioneers in the United States

Study of the following or others is suggested: Margaret Brent, Ann Hutchinson, Abigail Adams, Mercy Warren, Sarah Josepha Hale, Alice Stone Blackwell, Lucy Stone, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Josephine Butler, May Wright Sewell, Francis Willard.

We are pleased to note the following contributors or continued donors: Olive Beale, Laura Berrien, Mrs. Elizabeth D. Black, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Jeannette Marks, Mr. and Mrs. Ellis Schnabel, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley.

BOOKS WANTED:

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*; Ellis, *Man and Woman*; Gray, *China*; Hale, Sarah Josepha, *Woman's Record*; Herodotus, *History*; Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*; King, *Sunrise to Evening Star*; Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*; MacLennan, *Primitive Marriage*; Maria, Grand Duchess of Russia, *Education of a Princess*; Morgan, *Ancient Society*; Tarbell, *The Business of Being a Woman*; Terhune, *Husbands and Homes*; Waln, *The House of Exile*; Weininger, *Sex and Character*; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*; Willard and Livermore, ed., *American Women*; Winter, *The Heritage of Women*; Woodsmall, *Eastern Women*.

This really is humorous. The West has always been advanced in regard to equal rights and opportunities for women. Men pioneering on the frontier learned to appreciate the courage and ability of the women working and facing dangers at their side. For this reason, they were the first to grant women the right to vote.

Senators and Representatives of these States are not afraid to grant women complete citizenship. They do not fear that when women achieve equality before the law, they will be forced down to the level of wage slaves. They have more faith in their constituents than that. After all, women are voters and hold the balance of power in many States. They can be trusted to guide legislation into the right channels.